

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-07

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /085 W

-----029183 101211Z /46

R 071740Z OCT 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2758

INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 6818

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECIN PGOV PINT HU YO

SUBJ: TITO-KADAR DISCUSSIONS

REF: A) BUDAPEST 3396 B) BUDAPEST 3398

1. FURTHER TO ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIQUE CONTAINED REFTELS, HUNGARIAN EMBASSY COUNSELOR HERE BRIEFED US ON TITO-KADAR DISCUSSION OF CHINA, KOREA, RELATIONS AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES, EUROCOMMUNISM, YUGOSLAV INTERNAL POLITICS AND ON TITO'S HEALTH. ON BILATERAL RELATIONS HE CONFIRMED REFTELS' ESTIMATE THAT THEY REMAIN IN GOOD STATE, WITH PLANS FOR EXPANDED FLOW OF GOODS AND PEOPLE.

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2. CHINA. COUNSELOR STATED THAT TITO HAD TOLD KADAR YUGOSLAVS BELIEVE CHINA POST-MAO SUBSTANTIALLY SETTLED AND THAT CHINESE WOULD BE OPENING DOOR TO OTHER COUNTRIES. KADAR IS SAID TO HAVE RESPONDED THAT A STRUGGLE AMONG THE LEADERS WAS STILL POSSIBLE AND NOT CLEAR THAT CHINA OPENING. KADAR NOTED THAT CHINESE HAD BROKEN OFF PARTY RELATIONS WITH HUNGARIANS, THAT HUNGARIANS WOULD NOT

TAKE FIRST STEP TO RESTORE THEM, AND IN FACT HAD LITTLE INTEREST IN SUCH RELATIONS IN ANY CASE. TITO CONFIRMED WHAT EMBASSY BUDAPEST, WE AND OTHERS HAVE PICKED UP -- THAT YUGOSLAV PARTY RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE ARE NOW ON TRACK. TITO TOLD KADAR DELAY IN MORE PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT IS DUE TO CHINESE REQUEST THAT THEY BE GIVEN TIME TO INFORM THEIR CADRES WHY IT IS THAT CHINESE PARTY NOW WILLING TO DEAL WITH "REVISIONIST" YUGOSLAVS. WE NOTE THAT AT CHINESE NATIONAL DAY HERE PARTY SECRETARY GRILICKOV AND PARTY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DIRECTOR OBRADOVIC WERE PRESENT, ALONG WITH FOUR GOVERNMENT MINISTERS INCLUDING INTERNAL AFFAIRS SECRETARY HERLJEVIC.

3. KOREA. COUNSELOR STATED THAT TITO HAD TOLD KADAR KIM-IL-SUNG WAS VERY REALISTIC ABOUT SOUTH KOREA. WHEN PRESSED ABOUT CONTENT OF THIS "REALISM", COUNSELOR SAID THAT KIM-IL-SUNG SAW TWO-STAGE PROCESS -- FIRST, NORTH KOREAN MEETING WITH U.S. AND SECOND, NORTH KOREAN MEETING WITH SOUTH KOREANS, BUT NOT PARK.

4. RELATIONS AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES. TITO AND KADAR AGREED THAT EACH COMMUNIST PARTY IS RESPONSIBLE TO ITS OWN WORKING CLASS. BUT KADAR STRESSED THAT EACH PARTY MUST ALSO KEEP IN MIND THE IMPACT OF ITS ACTIONS ON THE OVERALL WORKERS' MOVEMENT. TITO IS SAID TO HAVE RESPONDED THAT IF YOU GO ANY DISTANCE DOWN THIS ROAD  
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THERE MUST BE A CENTER FOR THE MOVEMENT - WHICH HE OF COURSE OPPOSED.

5. EUROCOMMUNISM. COUNSELOR CLAIMED THAZ TITO HAD CALLED TERM EUROCOMMUNISM "NONSENSE". THERE COULD NOT BE AN AFRICAN, AN ASIAN OR A EUROPEAN COMMUNISM. IT WAS ALL VERY WELL FOR THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN PARTIES TO HAVE THOUGHT UP A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM IN THE ABSTRACT. WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT TO SEE WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENS TO THEM ONCE THEY HAVE TO PUT THIS INTO PRACTICE. THEY ARE TAKING THE CORRECT PATH IN ORDER TO GAIN POWER, BUT YUGOSLAVIA WILL NOT PERMIT THEM TO COMMENT ON THE SYSTEM HERE. KADAR IS SAID TO HAVE AGREED THAT THE EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES ARE PURSUING THE CORRECT PATH IN TERMS OF THE DOMESTIC CONDITIONS WHICH THEY FACE. AND HE SAID HE WAS FOR OPEN AND CANDID DIALOGUE. BUT THE ISSUE IS WHEN AND HOW TO

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CONDUCT SUCH A DIALOGUE. HE CRITICIZED THE SOVIET "NEW TIMES" ARTICLE ON EUROCOMMUNISM AS BEING TOO SHARP. AT SAME TIME HE NOTED THAT WHILE THE FORMAL PROGRAMS OF THE EUROCOMMUNIST PARTIES WERE UNEXCEPTIONAL, THE INTERVIEWS AND ARTICLES OF INDIVIDUAL LEADERS FREQUENTLY CAUSED CONSIDERABLE TROUBLE. THEREFORE HE RECOMMENDED LESS PUBLIC POLEMIC.

6. YUGOSLAV INTERNAL. TITO SUPPOSEDLY TOLD KADAR THAT THE PARTY HERE HAD BECOME BY 1971 MERELY A "DISCUSSION CLUB". THE GOAL OF THE NEXT, 11TH PARTY CONGRESS IS TO RESTORE THE AUTHORITY WHICH THE PARTY HAS LOST. IN  
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THIS CONNECTION, SOVIET EMBOFF TOLD US THAT TITO SUPPOSEDLY SAID TO BREZHNEV THAT FOLLOWING CSCE HE WOULD MOVE TO STRENGTHEN THE PARTY. ALSO INTRIGUING TO NOTE THAT IN INTERVIEW KARDELJ GAVE WASHINGTON POST'S

MICHAEL DOBBS PRIOR TO HIS TRIP TO THE US, KARDELJ  
FELT COMPELLED TO ANSWER QUESTION ABOUT POSSIBLE  
CREATION OF POLITBURO HERE BY STATING THAT UPCOMING  
CHANGES IN PARTY WOULD NOT BE DESIGNED TO CENTRALIZE IT.

7. TITO'S HEALTH. HUNGARIAN COUSELOR STATED THAT WHEN  
KADAR ARRIVED, TITO SHOWED OFF TWO DEER HE HAD JUST  
KILLED ADN THAT THEY PARTICIPATED TOGETHER SHORTLY  
THEREAFTER IN ANOTHER HUNT. DURING ONE 3-HOUR DISCUSSION  
SESSION TITO MANAGED WITHOUT NOTES BUT SEVERAL TIMES HIS  
MIND SEEMED TO WANDER AND HE VISIBLY TIRED. HOWEVER,  
OVERALL IMPRESSION WAS THAT TITO IS STILL IN FAIRLY  
GOOD SHAPE.  
WORTZEL

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